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ABSTRACT

Data for this analysis of the reactions of animators (facilitators) and villagers to a series of Out of School Television (OSTV--Tele Pour Tous) broadcasts were collected through taped discussions with groups of villagers in their native dialects and separate interviews with animators. Designed to supplement data obtained through questionnaires, this study focused on those aspects of OSTV animation and impact which are difficult to assess through the written word, and obtained information directly from the villagers. Additional objectives included reinforcing ties created by the establishment of the observer network, providing field research experience for three Ivorian graduate students, verifying that reported decisions or actions had been taken as a result of OSTV programs, and determining if the water situation has improved since the showing of the program series on that topic. Animators and villagers identified several reasons for the wide gap between the two groups; however, the basic difficulty was seen to be that the primary teachers acting as animators are outsiders, frequently reluctant to involve themselves in village affairs, while the villagers consider development affairs to be village decisions and do not ask the teacher for advice. Topics suggested by villagers for future programs and the interview questionnaire for villagers are included. (BBM)

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Visits to Twenty-Three Villages To Determine the Impact of the Water Series

Produced by the Out-of-School TV Department

by

Stephen Grant

Seya Thizier Pierre

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1975

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ABSTRACT

This report, which accompanies the volume published simultaneously, "The Impact of 25 Television Programs on 'Water' Produced and Broadcast by the Ivorian Out-of-School Education Project", analyzes how animators and villagers react to a series of broadcasts. For the first time, selected spectators in twenty-three villages spread over the country lent themselves to taped interview sessions, where they answered a series of questions (reproduced in Appendix A.1.) concerning the out-of-school programs, "TV for Everybody". Comments touch on relations with the teacher-animator, on suggestions for future TV programs, on the applicability of the advice contained in the programs and on other subjects. Examples of transcribed answers are presented in Appendix B. Part II of the report includes an analysis of the villagers' expressed attitudes. Conclusions and recommendations from this part, too numerous to summarize here, can be found in section II.3.

The animators visited also submitted themselves to an oral questionnaire (Appendix A.2.), commenting on such items as notification of spectators, contact with villagers, project achievements, and obstacles to program impact. Part III of the report presents the animators' answers with the conclusions and suggestions to this part included in III.3.2.

A concluding part IV draws a synthetic picture of the conclusions from both sources of information--villagers and animators--in an analysis of their congruity.

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I. - INTRODUCTION

I.1. Background

One of the first realizations made by the out-of-school education program authorities after several months of experimentation with TV programs for rural adults on a wide variety of subjects * was that a program series should be developed. By series was meant not one isolated program, but several TV programs, on a single subject, viewed from different perspectives or developed according to a particular progression. The subject chosen for the first adult education TV series was water: water as it exists in Ivory Coast in its diverse forms, in different areas of the country; water as it is used for agricultural and industrial purposes; water, its consumption and domestic use, especially as regards diseases emanating from unclean water. Of the complete series of twenty TV programs (not counting rebroadcasts), the last ones, seven in number, treated the health aspects of water. The titles and broadcast dates for the water series programs are reproduced on the following page.

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* See Frans Lenglet, "A Report on Out-of-School Television in the Ivory Coast before and during its First Operational Year, 1974-1975," Evaluation Service, 1975.

	TITLE	MONTH (1975)
1.	Water, source of life	April
2.	Drought in the north	April
3.	Sea, lagoons, and rivers	April
4.	The water situation in towns	April
5.	The arid Cocoa Belt	April
6.	Water in the mountains	April
7.	The water cycle	May
8.	Spectator reactions to the preceding programs	May
9.	Dangerous water *	May
10.	Filtered water	May
11.	Water reservoirs	May
12.	Improvement of water sources	June
13.	The wells	June
14.	Dysentery	October
15.	Guinea Worm	November
16.	Hookworm	November
17.	Bilharziosis **	November
18.	Malaria	November
19.	River blindness	November
20.	Water hygiene	December

* Broadcast repeated in late May because of an earlier transmission breakdown, and again in October as introduction to the programs on diseases.

** Broadcast repeated in late November because of earlier transmission breakdown in one part of the country.

The Evaluation Service decided in January 1975 to monitor the impact of the water series shown on "Télé Pour Tous" ("TV for Everybody") by collecting data by mail from approximately forty villages where a special observation of the out-of-school program would be organized. Three questionnaires, one before the broadcasts, one in the middle of the series, and one after the series were sent out to the specially created observor network. A report on the findings from these data is being published at the same time as this report.* In September 1975 near the close of the water series, the Evaluation Service, recently augmented by three Ivorian graduate students, decided to organize site visits to as many of the observed villages as possible, thus hoping to add depth and new dimensions to the existing body of data.

I.2. Objectives of the village visits

The objectives pursued during the visits to the out-of-school program villages were the following:

a) Examine aspects of out-of-school program animation and impact which are difficult or impossible to assess by means of written questionnaires;

b) Directly interview villagers instead of the usual compromise

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* Frans Lenglet, "The Impact of 25 Television Programs on 'Water' Produced and Broadcast by the Ivorian Out-of-School Education Project," 1976.

of accepting information provided by animators concerning their perceptions of village opinions and attitudes;

c) Through personal visits reinforce the ties created by the establishment of the observor network;

d) Involve the three Ivorian graduate students recently appointed to the Evaluation Service (and selected for the Masters Degree program at Stanford University under the USAID contract) in field research;

e) Verify the affirmation of several animators that such and such a decision or action had been taken in a village as a result of the out-of-school education program;

f) Determine if the water situation has changed in the villages since the beginning of the program series when the water problems or difficulties were recorded.

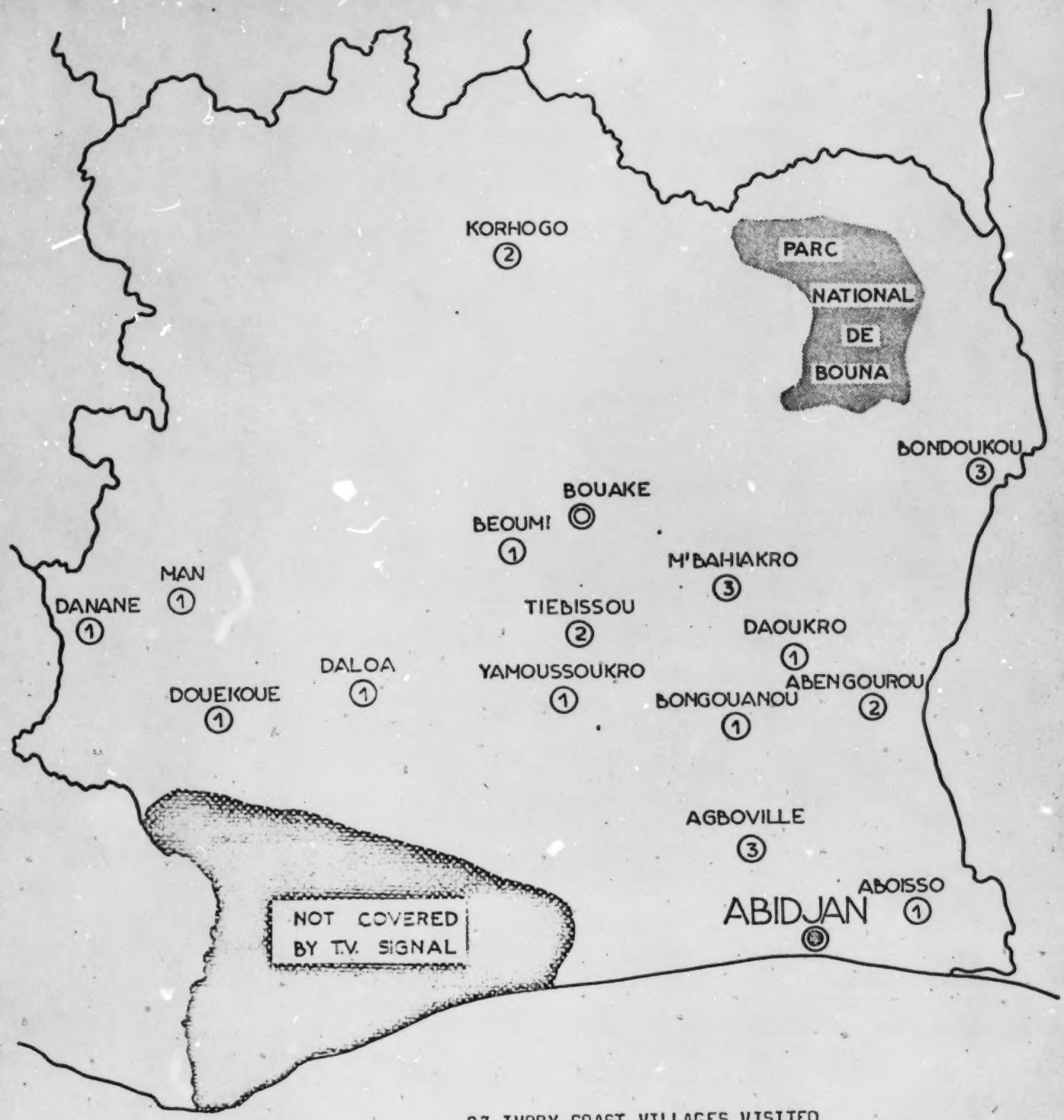
I.3. Selection of the villages

Originally it was hoped that all the forty villages could be visited, however several obstacles prevented this from happening. There were insufficient funds for day-to-day living plus vehicle-related expenses and time during the year had to be devoted to other projects as well. For most of the visits, the USAID project vehicle was used, one team visiting the field while the other remained in the capital. Not being able to send out teams simultaneously further contributed to the impossibility of reaching all villages. Finally, twenty-three out of forty villages (almost 60%) were retained, along

itineraries allowing relatively easy groupings which were covered by approximately four one-week-long visits.

The forty network villages were spread among twenty-five Primary School Inspection Regions. The twenty-three villages visited covered fifteen of these regions. The map on the following page shows the fifteen Inspectorates with the circled numbers indicating the number of villages visited in each region. For instance, in the northern Inspectorate surrounding the town of Korhogo, two villages made up the sample. Here is the complete list of Inspectorates and villages visited.

Village	Inspectorate
Aby	Aboisso
Arraguié	Agboville
Anno	"
Oress-Krobou	"
Andé	Bongouanou
Agnibilékrou	Abengourou
Duffrébo	"
Ouellé Koumanou	Daoukro
Bonghéra	M'Bahiakro
Dadiékro	"
Konan N'Dikro	"
Dinaoudi	Bondoukou
Kémédi	"
Lataha	Korhogo
Napiéolédougou	"
Pli Akakro	Béoumi
Molonoublé	Tiebissou
Taki Salékro	"
Angossé	Yamoussoukro
Kibouo	Daloa
Diéhiba	Duekoué
Kandopleu	Man
Kouépleu	Danané



23 IVORY COAST VILLAGES VISITED
TO DETERMINE THE IMPACT OF THE WATER SERIES
PRODUCED BY THE OUT-OF-SCHOOL TV DEPARTMENT

I.4. Preparation of the instruments and the team visits

Information was sought from two data sources: first, the school animator who runs the adult education TV discussions and second, a group of villagers (spectators and non-spectators). It was the first time that the Evaluation Service had attempted to directly contact TV spectators. As the second objective in section I.2. states, we thought it important to make an effort to reach the villagers by direct contact rather than being satisfied with asking the animators: "in your opinion, how do the villagers react to the out-of-school TV program?" In order to make the villager contact as easy for the villagers as possible and as fruitful in terms of its substance it was decided that the Ivorian member of the team interview representatives from the local population in each instance, if possible in the vernacular language. Consequently, the Ivorian team members were matched to itineraries according to their linguistic origins, which proved to be helpful in about half the cases. Otherwise an interpreter was used.

While the Ivorian team member taped his interview with several villagers, it was planned that the other member of the team, a white expatriate, should take the animator aside (away from the other group) for a separate series of questions. It was hoped that by thus dividing the work into two simultaneous parts one, time would be saved, and two, the animators would be hindered from participating in the villagers' session, which probably would have modified what was said (particularly the questions on how the villagers perceive the animator).

The team members developed a discussion guide for both the animator and the villager interviews and tested them in one village. The administration time was approximately one hour in each case. However, considerable time was required beforehand to explain the survey to the school principal and to request the cooperation of the village chief and a few villagers. In addition, it was wise to make a courtesy call on the Regional Primary School Inspector, and even to the Sub-prefect, the general administrative leader of the locality. In the village itself other time consuming items were locating an interpreter, rounding up interviewees, taking some time to discuss with the teachers, and demonstrating the astonishing faculties of the tape recorder to the uninitiated crowd.

The two instruments utilized are reproduced in Appendix A. The questionnaire-guide for villagers, in its original French version, is couched in a type of "pidgin" familiar to Ivorians who have a non-school knowledge of French. The guide requests answers on the following themes:

--similarity between TV and cinema

--out-of-school program broadcasts

--origins, truthfulness, and reality of the broadcasts

--comprehension and learning from the broadcasts

--role of animator during discussions and in village

--solving the local water problem

--applying advice given by the TV and extension agents.

The discussion guide for animators is divided into five parts:

--reception of three questionnaires and their administration

--the procedure of animation

--contacts and integration in the village

--concrete results of the out-of-school program

--opinions on the water series; relevance and usefulness of programs and of explanatory written materials.

I.5. Presentations of findings

The composition of the research teams, the selection of interviewees, and the nature of the contact during the interviews are such that it was decided to produce two distinct sub-reports, each side presenting its findings. Section II represents the report on the villager responses and on the process used to interview the villagers. Section III presents the responses of the animators to the discussion guide. A fourth section summarizes the parallel conclusions and traces actions taken subsequently between the Evaluation Service and the out-of-school education unit. Appendix A contains the instruments, the questionnaire guides. Appendix B provides more concrete evidence, in the form of taped statements, for the conclusions in Section II.

II. ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS OF THE OUT-OF-SCHOOL PROGRAM SPECTATORS CONCERNING THE WATER SERIES

II.1. Methodology

II.1.1. Data Collection

II.1.1.1. The Questionnaire-guide

First, we are conscious of the fact that our instrument of investigation contained both strengths and weaknesses. Designed for a population of mainly illiterates, the language of the instrument was purposely simple, and close to that of the interviewee. Both the language of the questions and their open nature facilitated communication, allowing the population to express freely points of view on their needs, their aspirations, and on subjects we introduced. Although the instrument's open and flexible character appeared to be an advantage, it also proved risky, for the interviewers often found themselves obliged to reformulate questions. This practice could produce divergent reformulations, moving more or less away from the text, and rendering comparability among interviewers' data difficult.

II.1.1.2. The Interview

The group interview technique was used in the villages. Beforehand, we tried to contact the Regional Primary School Inspector by phone, and always, by a follow-up letter. It was his responsibility to contact the village animator. However, on several occasions the message never got through and we arrived in the village unannounced.

II.1.1.2.1. Group composition

Two procedures were followed in the selection of villagers for the interview:

--by going through the village chief

--by going through the animator (either before or after our arrival).

Going through the chief or another village elder presents a major disadvantage: the chief's "elected" ones have the tendency to parrot the chief's thinking rather than offer an objective or critical viewpoint. In addition, given the elders' reputation as rare participants in the adult TV program discussion, their unfamiliarity with the whole process would be particularly alarming.

Going through the animator is also fraught with difficulties. The animator may choose spectators with whom he enjoys special ties. Consequently their utterances become automatically suspicious. This fear appears especially justified when the spectator group is constituted prior to our arrival.

Theoretically we intended to assemble discussion groups composed in the following way:

--six regular spectators, of which four men (two adults and two elderly viewers) and two women (one adult and one elderly viewer)

--two infrequent spectators (one adult man and one adult woman).

In reality, however, the proposed sample was not respected. In spite of our attempts, women rarely participated. Secondly, larger numbers of participants than were requested grouped around the inter-

viewer. What is more natural in our villages than this massive community spirit which is translated by a collective responsibility for any affair of public interest? This feeling of shared responsibility means that a village community will not readily accept the selection of a few of its number to speak for or in any way determine the fate of a whole village. Finally, there was a strong element of curiosity which produced a crowd of people around the interview operation. Confronted with this difficulty, we accepted the throng on the interview premises, but attempted to limit the speakers to the eight intended individuals.

II.1.1.2.2. Patterns of communication

In our villages interpersonal communication is based on a complex series of predetermined principles of decorum. One does not exercise the right to speak out in any manner, at any time, at any place, to say anything whatsoever. The following are examples of existing rules of propriety in village communication. The elderly will not allow youths to contradict them during a discussion: this would constitute a flagrant lack of respect. Similarly, women cannot contradict men in public, especially when the men present are the women's husbands. These sociological realities illuminate certain comments and notably the marked homogeneity of attitudes expressed during an interview.

In the eastern village of Dufférébo, an example of the preceding situation was striking. After a sixty-year-old man had uttered his

position on a subject, we asked his wife to express her own point of view. Whereupon, the sextagenerian violently interrupted us, shouting, "She thinks the same way I do: she's my wife!" For this husband, it is inconceivable that a wife have contradictory opinions to his own. Her being his wife is a sufficient condition for her to share his viewpoint on any subject.

As we saw above, age and sex are factors which have an important influence on what is said in public. The presence of village notables as well would have imposed another hierarchic authority; however, their numerous village tasks and responsibilities often prevented them from participating in our interviews. Another factor, moreover, which limited the sought-after democratization in communication was the emergence of the "natural leader." These individuals, monopolizers of speech, imposed their way of thinking which often became a model for the passive members of the group.

We bring up these sociological factors to demonstrate our awareness of the difficulties involved in gathering valid points of view from several sources during a group discussion and to signal our reservations about the value of our conclusions. Far from believing we gathered gospel truths from our data sources, we proceed in our analysis with full consciousness of the weaknesses inherent in our interpretations.

II.1.2. Analysis (methodology)

The nature of the survey (semi-structured interviews) dictates

a qualititative analysis of the data by themes. It will be necessary to assess the frequency with which the themes are brought up, and furthermore to look for relations between the expressed themes. We will also go beyond unanimous themes to point out some details, which despite their exceptional character appear to shed light on the subject studied.

II.2. Findings

II.2.1. Perceptions of TV and cinema

The out-of-school education program reaches the villages through the medium of TV and we wanted to learn about the spectators' perceptions of this medium. To help them focus on the TV medium we asked them to compare it with another medium, the cinema.

Villagers find several distinctions between the two media: content, accessibility, usefulness. People go to the movies to enjoy themselves, first of all. The programs are perceived of as being of wide general interest and treating life outside Ivory Coast. Their influence is viewed as often harmful in the example of attitudes and behavior of present-day youth. Because of the weaknesses perceived in several moving pictures, many villagers reject the medium.

TV, on the other hand, is more accessible in that it is free. The program content is of a local nature and presented in an educational and cultural objective: hence it is acceptable because of its positive attributes. Here the preference is cited, however, perhaps for certain specific programs rather than as a global acceptance of TV as a medium.

For these reasons the majority of the groups of spectators interviewed have a more favorable opinion of TV than of the cinema:

11 in favor of TV
1 in favor of cinema
6 believe there is no major difference
18 groups

II.2.2. Out-of-school TV programs contrasted with other general TV broadcasts

The spectators appear entirely aware of the fact that the out-of-school TV program is produced for them, is, in fact, theirs. They fully understand the general objective of the program, that of improving rural living conditions through a series of educational messages. As one person put it, "the program 'TV for Everybody' is made for the benefit of all Africans, it is for us who live in the village." Arguments such as these favor the TV, as opposed to the cinema, as was said above. Interestingly, the argument advanced in favor of TV is more characteristic of the out-of-school program than of the general national television. There seems to be some confusion when the villagers evoke the Information Ministry's general TV programs as being educational and pertaining to rural life: they confuse them with the out-of-school program. This confusion is partly understandable because for many villagers "TV for Everybody" is the national information broadcast and the only TV they see.

We did collect some impressions, nevertheless, which contrasted "TV for Everybody" with the national information network. In Aby, a relatively well-to-do village in the south, the interviewees who possessed TV sets reproached the information network for showing too many foreign films ("films for the white population") and for the incomprehensible French used in the films. At the same time these spokesmen voiced their preference for "TV for Everybody" for its relevance to everyday rural living, and its partial use of local languages.

II.2.3. Perceptions of "TV for Everybody"

We found an almost total support for the idea behind "TV for Everybody": improving village life. Of two exceptions, the first appears more individualistic than symptomatic. A war veteran in Napiéolédougou (in the north) is reported by the animator to have said: "I've served in Indo-China, in North Africa. I've seen bayonettes and made war. What can 'TV for Everybody' teach me?" This scornful attitude does not demand as much attention as does a comment by an old man from Konan N'Dikro: "We old folk have seen a lot of things. TV is not of our time, so we'd rather leave it to the younger generation." This opinion is pertinent, although it was expressed only once during our survey. It represents the feeling of old people who regard TV as a new technique which has made its intrusion into traditional life but which has not been accepted. It is another of those material examples of modernism which old people discover late in life and to which they do not accustom themselves, even though the message transmitted by the medium pertains to village life.

II.2.4. Interest in "TV for Everybody"

We collected two divergent reactions concerning expressed interest in "TV for Everybody" depending on the geographical location of the respondants. The eight Baoulé villages in the center of the country manifested nearly total approval of the "TV for Everybody" programs. Fourteen other villages, however, in the outlying parts

of the country, formulated a common criticism: too many "TV for Everybody" programs are filmed in Baoulé country and contain Baoulé speakers (Baoulé is the predominant ethnic group in the center of the country). While these villagers applaud the general idea of TV for rural areas they find the ethnic and linguistic coverage to be one-sided and they consider their own region with some of its specific problems neglected.

There is more unanimity concerning the satisfaction with the subjects presented on "TV for Everybody". The current series on water meets wide approval, with a minor exception of some southern villages, where water is not perceived as problematic. In addition to water, here is a list of subjects which various interviewees requested during our sessions:

1. modern agricultural techniques
2. animal husbandry
3. food
4. health and hygiene
5. village cohesion and solidarity
6. village hospitality and celebrations
7. traditionalism and modernism
8. literacy
9. motherhood and child raising
10. women's rights
11. becoming a merchant
12. savings

13. rural exodus and the unemployed

14. housekeeping

15. housing

II.2.5. Self-image in "TV for Everybody"

Rural spectators look for themselves and see themselves in "TV for Everybody". In this process of self-identification, we want to point out one instance where a spectator was not happy with what he saw. In the eastern village of Dufférébo, a peasant vehemently protested: "What I do not like in 'TV for Everybody' is the way we peasants are portrayed. We are dirty and unreliable. We are made fun of and I don't like it. The city folk, on the contrary, are all nice, clean people".

We might have dismissed this protest as being only one if its kind. However, after its utterance, we clearly noticed approval and support for the position taken coming from the other interviewees in the session. The speaker was saying aloud what the others were thinking deep down but did not dare articulate. It appears to us, moreover, that this criticism is justified; for rural folk, consciously or unconsciously, are portrayed as unintelligent, uncouth, and unpolished people to whom everything must be taught. This caricature is unfair and unfortuante at any rate, but even more so when it is mouthed by official government channels and by "TV for Everybody" itself! The disenchantment with his self-image which the Dufférébo peasant so strongly feels could be symptomatic of a future rupture

between his type and "TV for Everybody".

II.2.6. The attitude of village leaders toward "TV for Everybody"

By leaders we mean those villagers in whom resides some power, be it traditional or modern. We usually refer to village chiefs or Party delegates. As a general rule we found that village leaders are not in the habit of going to "TV for Everybody" programs. Many chiefs send representatives to the evening TV sessions who report back to the chiefs. In Aby, in the south, the chief has a TV set at home, and does not bother to go to school for the broadcasts. Many villagers go to the chief's house or to another TV set owner's rather than go to school where, one it is considered a child's world; two, there is a discussion after the program, and three, other interesting programs (such as traditional dances or football games) are often inaccessible. It would be going too far, however, to say that village chiefs are hostile to "TV for Everybody"; it is more accurate to call them negligent. One Baoulé chief has showed that where the subject is especially interesting he will assist in person. An animator reported that the chief in question came to his house even an hour before the TV program on coffee production to be sure the animator would turn on the school set!

What is the impact of the village leaders' lack of participation in adult TV sessions? The answer resides in the power structures and their relation to change in the village. The village chief and the Party delegate are the most influential persons in the village.

Villagers base their own attitudes upon those of these two authorities. In a northern village the animator made the following avowal: "here you can't do anything without the chief's consent. And he hasn't come to one program". In another village the animator explained to us that his listening group was composed exclusively of young people who refuse to take any initiative in the absence of their chief. As long as the village leaders do not feel concerned by adult TV and lend their support, the program success must be dubious.

II.2.7. Non-spectators

By assembling in our interview group persons who were not regular spectators we had hoped to collect some objective information concerning the refusal of adult TV. However, it does not appear that non-attendance is related to a condemnation of the institution. Rather, fatigue is what the target audience, peasants, evoke as the cause of their non-attendance. All day they have worked in the fields, generally situated far from the village. They return only at night-fall, to cook the evening meal, wash, and go to bed. After such a heavy work day it takes a special effort to go out to attend "TV for Everybody". A minority of interviewees stated that they were no longer regular spectators because of their disillusion after so many discussions, following the adult TV program, that had degenerated into meaningless exchanges.

II.2.8. Animation

The information we gathered revealed three factors which appear to determine the succes of animation: the accessibility of the language, the material conditions for animation, and the animator's attempt at rendering the TV message comprehensible.

II.2.8.1. The language

In answering our question, "If the animator is absent, could you understand 'TV for Everybody' alone?" most spectators were affirmative. They believe that the film itself is sufficient to achieve a global understanding. If this is true, rural viewers are not so impervious to the image on the screen as one is accustomed to believing. Many spectators regret the fact that "TV for Everybody" broadcasts in French and not in native languages. They argue that French as the communication medium does not facilitate comprehension of the TV message.

II.2.8.2. Material work conditions

During our survey we had the opportunity of attending several "TV for Everybody" evenings and this experience enriched our knowledge and understanding of local working conditions. We learned that since the schools were often located some distance from the village a definite handicap resulted, first because of the distance, and second because of the late broadcast hour, 8:15 P.M. Especially where villages have no electricity it is not very tempting to walk

long distances at night. For those who are courageous enough to make the effort, other problems arise. Crowding becomes an annoyance and it is difficult to impose any silence or order on a throng, composed largely of restless children. Some teachers on occasion have attempted to bar the entry to TV classrooms, and have unfortunately provoked unpleasant incidents.

In Anno, for instance, some youths were intent on watching a football game one evening which unfortunately was scheduled just following the "TV for Everybody" program. Although the animator tried to discourage the disruption of the discussion session, youths physically attacked the animator and threw stones on the classroom.

Another problem which arises occurs in the numerous TV schools which are not yet electrified. The animator turns off the sound on his TV receiver to begin the discussion but conserves the picture to afford a minimum of light to the classroom. It is easy to imagine the difficulties one, of using the health posters in such lighting conditions and two, of retaining the viewers' attention with fleeting silent images on the screen.

A next to last problem is technical breakdowns, which were reported in two villages as long-term disturbances.

Finally, and most important, is the problem of remuneration for the animator's work. The animator is first and foremost a primary school teacher. His animation duties, assigned or voluntary, constitute a supplement to his normal work load. The animators we saw warned that if the Extra-scolaire Unit could not muster payment

for their extra task they would purely and simply abandon the whole affair.

II.2.8.3. Understanding the TV message

The spectators answered massively "yes" to the question: do you understand what "TV for Everybody" is telling you? One must accept such a response with caution, however, for we know the many language difficulties, the material restraints, the technical problems and the animation which all leave something to be desired and prevent a full understanding of the TV message by the villagers.

Although regrettably we have not personally conducted research into the level of comprehension of "TV for Everybody", to examine the pedagogical value of the programs, we do have the findings of such a study* by Josiane Jouet, on the understanding of the posters and TV program, Guinea Worm. Two of her conclusions especially struck us:

a) "Only 8 subjects out of 132 from the two groups (0.6%) are capable of explaining the entire cycle of the Guinea Worm" (page 24),

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* Josiane Jouet, "Rapport d'Enquête sur la compréhension de l'émission et de l'affiche sur le ver de Guinée", Research Unit, out-of-school education program, 1976.

b) "Cognitive learning of the principle of contamination has not taken place" (page 25).

Such negative conclusions lead one to seriously doubt the "perfect" understanding spectators often claim. Yet, the question of comprehension should be posed in terms of levels of understanding, not in the absolute. The spectators seem to have some global understanding of the program content, although they are unable to trace and explain the different parts of the whole and how they fit together.

Understanding is one thing, however, and acceptance is quite another. There is an initial acceptance in terms of the "TV for Everybody" authorities. These persons are considered like any other government agents and are accepted without question. Even up to the point where spectators will defer suggesting new topics for "TV for Everybody". "You are educated. You know everything. You know what has to be done and what can't be done. We agree with everything you say". Another spectator demonstrates a similarly blind acceptance, but attributes the benefaction to whites. "It is the white man who has done everything. What he does is always good".

At this attitudinal, not behavioral, level, almost all comments we collected were favorable. An exception was heard in answer to the question, "is it true or false what "TV for Everybody" says?" The spectator replied, "Sometimes what it says is true, sometimes what it says is not true. For example, when "TV for Everybody" tells

us that a mosquito gives you malaria, it is not true. Because I was in Abidjan, got bitten by a mosquito, and did not get malaria. And "TV for Everybody" tells us that when we drink from the water hole or step in stagnant water microbes enter our body and give us disease, and also when a mosquito bites you and then bites someone else this person gets the disease: all that is wrong. When you're sick and you eat out of the same dish as someone else, then this person gets your disease".

Here is the case of someone who understands the general message of "TV for Everybody" but who evokes a personal framework to explain events. He is especially attached to his own framework because he has experienced it personally. In this case neither "TV for Everybody" nor the animator were able to convince him of the inaccuracy of his rationalization.

Another case of refusal of "TV for Everybody" advice was registered in the north. Concerning the advice of covering dishes to prevent flies from landing on the food, the animator told us how a villager had reacted: "If no fly lands on my dish, it must be poisoned." That is, only when a fly lands on and flies away from a dish of food is it safe for consumption. One must deduce that the adhesion to modernism in rural villages is less than total! Such personal and traditional systems of causality and explanation constitute genuine obstacles to effective "TV for Everybody" programs.

One human resource which could complement and reinforce the TV message is the corps of animators. However, the animator cannot

know everything, and his answers, we learned, on occasion, do not satisfy the villagers. But another human resource is the local development agent. Thirteen out of twenty villages declared that extension agents made periodic visits and the other seven villages regretted that they didn't receive such visits. The reasons for the incomplete coverage certainly include an insufficient number of extension agents. We heard no complaints about their willingness to help. On the contrary, we were struck by the pertinent remark of one SATMACI* agent in Anno: "Don't you think I am more qualified than the schoolteacher for animation of TV programs dealing with agriculture? Not only the peasants would understand the explanations better but I would be listened to more attentively when I try to get them to abandon certain inefficient techniques they use in their fields." We believe that a collaboration between animator and extension agent is critical: they could represent complementary forces of a unified development strategy.

II.2.9. Human relations between animators and villagers

In the eyes of the village the animator is an educated man. He is responsible for making the TV available to the school and the village and he is the only one, in most villages, who runs the "TV for Everybody" program. Consequently, his technical and

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* SATMACI = Technical Assistance Bureau for Modern Agriculture.

intellectual qualities confer upon him a certain prestige. Nevertheless, the villagers recognize that his authority has definite limits. The animator is consulted for either school related affairs or very general matters. For any important decision-making or political discussions which might have an incidence upon village life the animator's voice counts for nothing; it is the local political authority, which resides in the village chief and Party delegate, which is omnipotent. Consequently, one can imagine that difficulties arise when the teacher/animator is requested to play the role of village advisor.

During our interviews, most spectators agreed that there was some contact between animator and villagers but that it remained superficial. Besides, the reason mentioned above, we found three grounds for the weak contact:

a) the animator's ignorance of the local language,

b) the distance between the teachers' homes and the village,

c) the often times short assignment of the animator to one village.

It has been a policy in Primary Education to deliberately assign a teacher to a locality where he does not speak the local language. The reason is to encourage communication in French and discourage any communication in other languages. While such a practice may be beneficial to pupils, it constitutes a major obstacle in terms of the animation of listening groups of "TV for Everybody".

First, the teacher must often rely on an interpreter to explain the TV program content, and second, he is obviously disadvantaged

in any day-to-day human contact with the village. Consequently, animation, the success of which is so dependent upon close personal relations, becomes an inaccessible notion.

In most of the villages we visited, the teachers' houses were built on the periphery of the village residences. The result is that most spectators don't meet the teachers in their everyday activities, some even stated to us that the only time they meet is at "TV for Everybody" programs!

School teachers are civil servants and are consequently very mobile agents, being transferred from village to village or to an urban center. Thus they are partially prevented from taking root and widening their circle of relationships. The animator remains very much a lone agent, living on the periphery of the village world. His human contacts are limited mostly to other teachers and a few civil servants outside his own profession. If he participates in village activities it is more out of protocol than out of genuine concern.

The villagers' perception of the animator was revealed in their answers to the question: Even if the animator is there, would you want someone else to explain "TV for Everybody"? Most answers were negative, that is favorable to the animator. One reason was his intellectual and technical qualities (as stated above), as in the response, "we prefer the animator because he is educated and knows how the TV set works." Other spectators see reasons why a local animator would not work. In Konandrikro, we heard the following:

"If someone gets up from among the villagers to lead the discussion, no one listens to him!" There is a feeling that while a peer could not adequately play the role of facilitator and change agent, a teacher from the outside commands sufficient respect to fulfill that function.

But is the eventuality of a local animator out of the question? We do not think so. Some answers we gathered reveal a peasant mentality which portrays the acceptance of the outside animator as being, in final analysis, a superficial one.

First, we must say that when we go from village to village for interviews, the population is somewhat distrustful of us. We are associated with government agents, that is, political authorities. We noticed very often a certain hesitation in telling it "straight from the shoulder"; we felt on numerous occasions that the people did not dare say outright what they were thinking deep down. This impression was never more evident than in Aby, a southern village which lived through an intense political crisis in pre-Independence days. The day of our visit, moreover, coincided with Party elections and visits from political authorities. We are convinced that the natural distrust the villagers manifest to outside information seekers, which we were, in such a volatile political climate was responsible for biasing or falsifying some answers to our questions. This distrust was easy to recognize, by certain ways of expressing an opinion, by continuous understatement, shrugging of shoulders, sullenness, and even, once, a collective condemnation of one member

who during the group interview proved talkative and indiscrete.

When we did finally get one group to consider whether an animator could be found in the community, we noticed an immediate change in the atmosphere. The group which had been quite spontaneous in their answers appeared embarrassed. After putting their heads together, the group chose a spokesman who reported, "We have no particular problem with our animator. We would like him to ..... that is.....we would like him to initiate one or two of us in animation techniques so that one day, if he is absent, one of us can step in to replace him."

This behavior prompts a few remarks. If the group had really preferred having the outside animator they would have said so spontaneously. Why then the small conference before replying to our question? We assume that the group was trying to judge if there was any political import in our question and having found one they gave an answer phrased with nuances which could not compromise their position. The answer contained two elements. First, the interviewees declared a certain allegiance to the official animator, but immediately afterward expressed the wish that "native sons" be trained to eventually take over. There is not quite an expressed rejection of the outside animator, but there is a latent avowal that a local inhabitant could and should do the job.

II.2.10. Following the advice of "TV for Everybody"

II.2.10.1. Technical difficulties

Most spectators we talked with find the advice in "TV for Everybody" easy to follow. Out of eighteen villages, fourteen said the advice was easy to follow and four found the advice somewhat difficult. But, as usual, one must examine the way in which the villagers understand "easy to follow." When villagers say the advice is easy to follow it does not mean, first of all, that they follow the advice. It means that the situation of great need which they recognize (to have strong, healthy babies, to choose a good soil for farmland, etc., etc.) leads them to readily and easily accept the nature of the advice offered. Interviewees would say, for instance, "What is good for man is never difficult to do." The villagers realize that "TV for Everybody" is a government inspired program designed to improve their standard of living. They further realize that sacrifices are necessary on their part in order to put that government assistance into practice. In these terms the assistance is easy, that is clearly to their advantage. There is no difficult assistance. With such an explanation now we can understand why the villagers say the advice in "TV for Everybody" is easy. As far as the actual technical difficulties are concerned, we think that the villagers do have serious problems, for, as an illustration, very few could explain how a water filter functioned,

just to take one example.

Difficulties in following the advice stem first from technical complexity. Near Oress-Krobou a villager challenged us: "You ask us to sort coffee beans in much too difficult and complicated a fashion. We can't adopt your techniques." But the difficulties stem also from a lack of practicality. A spectator from Oress-Krobou brought up this problem: "What you tell us is true, but how do you want us to carry filtered water to the fields as well as our baggage which is already heavy. We know that once you are accustomed to drinking filtered water you have to drink it all the time. That is the reason why we prefer not to get used to drinking this kind of water, which has never harmed our ancestors or ourselves.

II.2.10.2. Material difficulties

Money constitutes the major material obstacle evoked by villagers to explain why advice is not followed. They find the cost of changing the new ways of doing things beyond their means. This argument is understandable on one side, and questionable on another. Many spectators do not know the price of the items involved in the suggested operations, for instance how much a pair of boots or a water filter cost. How then can they complain about the cost if they have no information on it? Rather, their reactions, instead of being based on factual information, are symptomatic of typical peasant behavior: they don't like to spend their money. The peasant community, which lives in relative misery, spends its money

only when it has to. Consequently, the lack of enthusiasm manifested by peasants at the thought of the purchase of items which they might consider useful but not indispensable is understandable.

II.2.10.3. Examples of advice followed

In spite of the above difficulties, we did come across villages where financial sacrifices had been made in order to follow the advice offered in "TV for Everybody." We cannot attest that the expenditures were made as a result of "TV for Everybody", for in many cases, for instance, before the TV series on water villagers wore boots to protect themselves against snake bites or thorns and some drank filtered water. But according to our interview responses, there were a number of recent village actions which could be attributed to the impact of "TV for Everybody".

Water filters: in three listening centers, villagers gave the animator money to go to the nearest town to buy filters.

Agnibilekrou	-	4 filters
Dinaoudi	-	23 filters
Kouépleu	-	12 filters
		39 Filters

Wells: in three villages we heard about different attempts at improving the water situation by well drilling experiments (Kémédi), by collecting dues (Kémédi), and by well repair actions (Arraguié).

Latrines: in Oress-Krobou four latrines were built (two of which

by villagers for teachers), and in Kandopleu and Lataha a school teacher built one.

Cooperatives: Actions were undertaken in two villages, Dinaoudi and Kémédi, toward the creation of a cooperative.

Even though the number of examples presented here may appear low, and the connection between TV program and action unproven, we should not be too pessimistic. "TV for Everybody" has instilled in villagers a real desire to adopt certain behavior associated with modernity. Villagers regret they often have no means themselves of partaking in this modernity and they fear the government will not help either. They complain that "TV for Everybody" is satisfied with producing a TV program but then becomes invisible when it is a matter of follow-up or just answering written questions submitted by spectators after the programs.

II.3. Conclusions and Recommendations

We will try to suggest some solutions to problems we have uncovered during the study. These problems are of two sorts; first those relating to the research, that is to epistomology or methodology, and second those directly concerning "TV for Everybody".

II.3.1. Methodological difficulties

We noted earlier that interpersonal communication in traditional village life is reglemented by precise and predetermined rules of decorum. These principles of behavior do not always favor the free-

dom of expression, which causes some embarrassment for those who are interviewed.

It would be possible to eliminate this obstacle by constituting homogeneous interview groups, that is separate groups composed of young people, adult men, women, old men, old women, etc. Inside each of these groups there is a good chance that the discussion would be carried on in a free manner, without major hindrances.

One would not have to call interviews in each village with each group cited. The groups could be spread out throughout the total number of villages to be visited. Thus in village A, say, one would work with youth, in village B with adult men, etc.

We met another difficulty in our information gathering. When asked their opinion on how interesting "TV for Everybody" is or on how difficult it is to follow the advice in "TV for Everybody", the spectators invariably claim that "TV for Everybody" is "good" and that the advice is "easy" to follow. Only when the interrogation is pushed further do we realize that the answers the viewers give reflect how they conceive of the TV program. "TV for Everybody", in effect, is perceived as an aid which is brought to the peasants, an aid which they mechnically and uncritically accept. Any helping factor, such as adult TV, is always welcomed and never spoken ill of. This attitude of acceptance is equally valid for avowals of advice followed. But do the peasants honestly think the advice is easy to follow or indeed do they follow it? For this, the researcher must reformulate his questions to obtain answers which are objective in

addition to being affective.

II.3.2. Problems and suggested solutions relating to "TV for Everybody"

II.3.2.1. Lack of lighting in TV animation classrooms

Animation classrooms are unlit for two reasons; one, the village itself has no electricity or two, the village has been electrified, but not the school. In the first case, one could imagine donations of gas lamps. In the second case, the animator could help organize the village to finance the electrical wiring connections between village and school.

II.3.2.2. Lack of space in animation classrooms

To remedy the problem of lack of space in animation classrooms, the out-of-school authorities could name a second animator in villages where overcrowding occurs. In this fashion two rooms would be used, avoiding congestion. This solution has already been applied, by the way, in some centers.

II.3.2.3. Lack of understanding program content

We again quote from Josiane Jouet's article: "Cognitive learning of a phenomenon which is relatively complex requires a highly elaborate demonstration scheme, containing a very simple presentation, an analytic breakdown of the explanation, plus the indispensable repetitions..... The survey results indicate that the planning and the

production of adult education programs be well prepared. The scripts should be critically examined as to their educational content and the correspondence between picture and commentary. The Research Unit should assist in these critical functions.*

In addition, in order to give the spectators satisfactory answers and technical facilities to apply the advice; the out-of-school program should promote the involvement of extension agents so that in each of their branches they offer concrete advice to peasants and, on occasion, present practical demonstrations.

II.3.2.4. Lack of regularity of "TV for Everybody"

"Irregularities" leading to discouragement, low attendance, or limited impact seem to be due to three factors:

a) frequent animator reassignments

b) long technical breakdowns

c) modification in broadcast times and program subjects.

Concerning the fact that animators, as teachers, are frequently reassigned to new village teaching posts, the Ministry should do everything in its power to allow the animator to remain as long as possible in his village. That would give him the opportunity to become integrated into the village community.

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* Josiane Jouet, "Rapport d'Enquête sur la compréhension de l'émission et de l'affiche sur le ver de Guinée", Research Unit, Out-of-school education program, 1976, page 27.

As far as the long TV receiver or antenna breakdowns are concerned, the African Television Company (CATEL), responsible for the maintenance and quality of reception, should make more frequent rounds to inspect the condition of village TV equipment.

Finally, on the irregular broadcasting times, the animation authorities should make the Director of programs at the Ivorian Radio-TV Broadcasting Office realize the serious consequences of such irregularities, for delays are frequent.

II.3.2.5. Unmonitored listening

Watching "TV for Everybody" at home or elsewhere without an animator is becoming more and more popular. Where there exists in a village a TV set other than the one at school, the tendency is for the people, especially the adults, to desert the classroom in favor of the private listening conditions. It has become urgent for the animation authorities to take measures to organize these natural, private, heretofore unmonitored listening sessions. Perhaps a "natural leader" could be found to direct these para-animation activities.

II.3.2.6. Lack of ethnic balance in "TV for Everybody"

To avoid the transformation of repeated complaints formulated by numerous spectators concerning the overdose of programs filmed in Baoulé country into real frustrations, the out-of-school authorities should insist on a more equitable ethnic mix in the shooting sites even if these should prove more costly because one moves farther away from the

TV production center, Bouaké, which is in Baoulé country.

II.3.2.7. Lack of relevance in "TV for Everybody" topics

There seems to be a certain gap between the topics which the spectators we interviewed told us they would like to see treated and the ones which are broadcast over "TV for Everybody". This difference could be attributed to the non-participation of spectators in the TV programming, which up to now has been the exclusive domain of an inter-ministerial committee. Since the spectators are the foremost ones concerned by "TV for Everybody", they are the ones most apt to be able to identify their own needs. One must involve them more in the determination of the topics covered by "TV for Everybody" if one wants to interest them more. Spectators could be represented in the committe which meets to decide on topic selection and programming.

II.3.2.8. Lack of interest in "TV for Everybody" by village leaders

The impact of "TV for Everybody" suffers from the indifference which local leaders manifest toward the program. Energetic measures should be taken so that local political authorities (village chief and Party delegate in particular) become interested and participate in "TV for Everybody". A problem one could foresee, however, is that the presence of such political leaders would hinder the spectators in their discussions or in the various activities that they might spontaneously want to undertake. Ideally, the spectators themselves should want to have leaders there.

Perhaps if the idea of "Tele-Clubs" meets some success, the village

leaders will play a more important role. This club would be designed to promote discussion on subjects presented in "TV for Everybody" and the club is to be led by a local leader, chosen by the villagers.

II.3.2.9. Remuneration of animators

This is the thorniest problem currently facing "TV for Everybody". The animators cannot understand why they do not get paid for performing additional work. They resent this state of affairs, where they are exploited. For, after all, they live in a capitalist society where the notion of sacrifice is out of place. "If everyone sacrificed himself for the nation", one animator told us, "I would not demand a cent for the animation work which was asked of me. Unfortunately in this country everyone is out for himself." For this reason, the animators are threatening to drop all animation if they are not paid.

II.3.2.10. Questions without answers

We heard from many spectators that questions sent in written form by the animators in their reports or in separate correspondence received no answers. We know that the animation unit of the out-of-school program periodically edits a booklet "Answers to our mail" but that this information, sent to animators, is not always read back to those TV viewers who initiated the inquiries. And we know that the program answers a sampling of its unsolicited mail asking for additional information. In addition, we think that within the broadcast time of "TV for Everybody" some answers could be given orally over the TV. This practice had been done only once in the past. Or similar messages could be given in local

languages over the radio, presenting the advantages of reaching the villagers in their mother tongue.

II.3.2.11. Lack of visits to villages by out-of-school program staff

This problem could be solved by frequent visits to villages by animation unit staff, independent from the Evaluation Service's own surveys which take it into the interior. The animation unit is well aware of the need to visit bush schools and talk with animators and villagers and has moreover requested the material support necessary to instigate such regular visits to villages.

II.3.2.12. Lack of information on the part of villagers

Villagers seem not to know whom to address questions to, when they have such or such a problem. To solve this problem, the animation unit could produce a special bulletin for spectators giving them a list of the organizations or services; persons to contact, etc. in the areas of advice offered by "TV for Everybody" to facilitate the village's accessibility to the needed information.

III. ANIMATION AND THE WATER SERIES AS SEEN BY ANIMATORS

III.1. Methodology

III.1.1. Notification of the animator about the interview

The animator was notified by the Regional Inspector of the date and time of the visit only if certain conditions were fulfilled:

--if the Inspector had received an official letter from the Evaluation Service giving the names of the researchers and the general subject of the survey (these letters were sent out just prior to the survey and oftentimes arrived after the visit),

--if the Inspector was traveling to the villages selected he had the opportunity of notifying the animator,

--if the animator or another teacher from his school stopped at the Inspectorate on his day off (Thursday) he could learn of the impending visit.

After this list of hypothetical pre-conditions, what actually happened? In every case but two the animator was found in the village, yet in relatively few cases had he received word of our coming. In one village in the center of the country an interview was under way when a bush taxi stopped in the village leaving a letter at the school principal's office announcing our visit!

III.1.2. The interview

The interview with the animator was a tête-à-tête discussion involving

only the (white) researcher and the animator, unless perchance in a village an out-of-school program observor (another teacher in most cases) joined the discussion. The interview was generally held outside under a tree, in the animator's house, or in the school principal's office. The language of the discussion guide was in standard French since the animator's intellectual level permitted him to understand and express himself comfortably in that medium. The interview lasted about an hour. It was composed of a series of questions, translated into English in Appendix A. It was not taped, but the researcher took notes. When the section on concrete results of the out-of-school program was raised, he would often say after the talk something to the effect: "let's walk around the village to witness the construction of the new latrine, the recent purchase of a water filter, etc. or other innovations claimed during the discussion".

III.2. Findings

III.2.1. How the animator notifies the villagers about the subject and date of "TV for Everybody"

Most of the animators go through the pupils to notify parents about the date and the subject of adult TV programs. Two animators who are school principals mention the programs to their own sixth grade (CM2) pupils without making any similar announcement to other classes. One animator circulates written announcements in the classrooms three days before the broadcast. A few animators tell their colleagues to make an

announcement in their classes. One animator never uses the pupils as go-between but contacts the villagers directly himself.

All but one of the animators also contact villagers directly to notify them of an upcoming TV program. Several animators pay a visit to the village chief or to the tribal chief (or their secretaries) so these leaders will be aware of the occurence. Animators notify the youth leader; the PTA president, and the Party Committee. A few animators pass from house to house. In two villages the chiefs have designated several people to notify the villagers. The animator passes the message to the chief's delegates who, in turn, go from house to house with the news. In one village the neighborhood delegates are expected to report back to the chief about the content of the TV program soon after the broadcast. One animator does not contact the village elders because the chief takes care of it. Two animators have announced "once and for all" that out-of-school broadcasts are Wednesdays and Fridays: the inhabitants are used to coming to the schoolhouse on those evenings. One animator in a Baoulé village takes advantage of the rest day in the week, Wednesday, to speak to villagers about the program that evening.

These notifications are generally made a few days before the scheduled program, followed by a special reminder on the day. The schoolbell (a tire rim) is sounded in the evening to call the villagers. In addition, at the end of the discussion following the TV program, the date of the next program is sometimes announced.

III.2.2. What happens just before "TV for Everybody"

The animators ring the school bell to call spectators and turn on

the receiver between 7 and 8 o'clock P.M. The program preceding "TV for Everybody" is the evening news, which is observed without translation or animation. One animator declares that his listening group prefers the news over the "TV for Everybody" for while the former provides entertainment the latter requires effort and participation! Just before the out-of-school program is aired, some animators announce the title and give a summary of the program that will follow. One animator warns the televiewers to pay close attention to the film because he will ask them questions about it afterwards.

III.2.3. What happens during "TV for Everybody" (8:15 - 8:45 P.M.)

In all but one listening center the animators (or a pupil) translate certain key elements perceived in the film. One animator never translates during the broadcast in the belief that any spoken word will distract the audience from the receiver. Most animators add to summary translations further comments or explanations, or they ask the audience to pay particular attention to a certain point.

III.2.4. What happens after "TV for Everybody"

III.2.4.1. Lighting

Most animators turn off the receiver and lead a discussion in the classroom lit by personally owned or borrowed kerosene lanterns, in those schools (by far the majority) where there is no electricity. A few animators who do not own lamps, who own one but keep it at home for family use, or who have not convinced a colleague or a villager to bring

a lamp; leave the receiver on (sound off) to light the classroom during discussions. These animators complain about the lack of attention during the discussion because spectators are distracted by the lit screen.

III.2.4.2. Discussion

Animators use many different means of leading a discussion. They ask a spectator to give a summary of the program or they summarize it themselves. They ask questions to see if the program is understood. They try, sometimes in vain, to solicit questions from the audience. After a question raised by a member of the audience, some animators return the question to the floor, inviting anyone to attempt an answer before they answer it themselves. Some animators give additional explanations; others, less sure of the subject or less comfortable in the role of animator, let the discussion follow its own course. One animator described how he used a poster, provided by the out-of-school education program during the broadcast.*

III.2.4.3. Team teaching

In one school we observed an animation session led by two teachers,

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* Note on posters. In every TV class visited we observed the posters on water and disease distributed by the out-of-school education program. They were hung on the walls and often provided one of the major decorative elements of the classroom. A few animators gave posters to the local dispensary or cooperative as well. During our travels we left additional posters with the school principal and with the village chief.

taking turns. Each had his own method: one was very directive, summarizing the program content himself and questioning little. The other asked several questions and urged the spectators to reflect on applications of the TV advice offered in their daily lives. We were struck by three advantages of this form of team teaching: rapid, varied, and lively animation; moments of rest for the animator; opportunity for one animator to be exposed to and copy the techniques of a colleague.

III.2.5. Substitutes for animators

Several animators have attended every "TV for Everybody" broadcast since their inception; consequently, the problem of a substitute has not existed. If an animator is absent he is usually replaced for the circumstance by another teacher (even the principal). Only rarely does a villager replace the animator.

The hypothetical question, "Could a villager be a viable substitute?" elicited some controversy. A few animators believe that a villager is not up to such a task as animation either because he is "ignorant" or because he is untrained. Others feel "yes", substitutes could be found, and even suggest the following persons: a PTA president, a SATMACI* agent, an AVB** woman animator, a merchant, and a villager who has worked as an interpreter.

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* SATMACI = Technical Assistance Bureau for Modern Agriculture.

** AVB = Development of the Bandama River Valley Authority.

III.2.6. Relations between animator and villagers

There is widespread agreement among animators that their relations with villagers are sparse, and when they exist are often strained. First, the physical layout of the typical village separates teachers from local inhabitants. Teacher housing is constructed conventionally on the periphery of the village, in an area often referred to by villagers as the "white" neighborhood. It must be remembered that teachers are in most cases from other tribes than the predominant village tribe and are consequently considered outsiders.

The animators usually do not make the effort to contact villagers. Once the TV program discussion is completed, the animator considers his task accomplished. Only rarely does he go find a spectator after a program to discuss a point brought up in the program. A few animators admit their hesitation in becoming involved in village affairs. They do not want to take a stand in local political issues.

The villagers, in turn, do not make the effort to contact teachers. Only rarely will a villager go to an animator for advice or consult him on development projects. When the village holds council the teachers are seldom invited. They are informed of the council's decisions rather than being consulted about them. Many school principals criticize villagers because they seem uninterested even in school affairs. The principals have to call a village assembly to bring up such questions as delapidated school buildings, teachers still lacking adequate housing, etc. These construction and maintenance tasks are included in the normal purview of village responsibilities. In general, the relations between villagers and teacher do not appear to extend beyond salutations,

polite questions on one's health, exchanges of banalities, comments on the work or the absence of a schoolchild, requests for medicine, and requests to read letters.

In two villages the deterioration of teacher-villager rapport led to physical and material harm. In one case turbulent youths who wanted to watch the TV rather than sit through a discussion period hurled stones on the schoolhouse roof. A report was made to the "Sous-Préfet". In the other case a stampede of people into a classroom for a TV program prompted the animator to refuse entry to many. The disgruntled ones turned away threw rocks on the classroom roof, and one young villager attacked the animator. The aggressor was subsequently imprisoned.

In the rare case where there seems to be a close rapport between animator and villagers we found two reasons to be determinant: one, the animator speaks the local language and two, he has been in the school for a number of years. One animator revealed that because of "TV for Everybody" he had many village contacts. Consequently a teacher can try to use "TV for Everybody" as a catalyst in bringing himself closer to village activities.

III.2.7. Understanding the programs

The animators all state that villagers can understand program content provided there is an animation (including translation). They further believe that some youth, after partial schooling, are capable of understanding without animation.

III.2.8. Interest and Pertinence of TV programs

There is a quasi-unanimous agreement among animators that the series "TV for Everybody" interest villagers. Beyond the accepted principle that the government should be lauded for putting TV at the rural adult's disposal, there is a difference of opinion on what subjects should be covered. Many animators, for instance, hold that the water series was very interesting for the teachers and the younger spectators but that adults were not interested. Adults, according to this source, would rather see programs on the following subjects:

1. organization of the modern, productive community (village resettlement, cooperatives)
2. banking
3. maternity care and child raising (especially for women)
4. literacy
5. technical advice on agriculture
6. coffee; the sale of hulled coffee (the TV program on coffee produced by SERIC* was judged interesting but less pertinent to the small farmer throughout the country than to the small group of coffee growers situated near the SERIC factory)
7. fertilizer
8. mechanized agriculture
9. rice cultivation

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* SERIC = Research and Development Institute for Coffee and Cocoa Industries.

10. animal husbandry (especially pig raising)
11. official documents (ID card, birth certificates, etc.)
12. films on Ivorian folklore and traditional ceremonies
13. present-day accomplishments in Ivory Coast.

Returning to the interest manifested in the water series..... One half of the animators claim that although the water series did by and large capture audience interest and provoke discussions, the series did not "do much" for most villagers. One of the animators who notes a positive reaction declares that through the water series villagers are made more conscious about the necessity to conserve and consume clean water. Likewise they are encouraged in their practice of constructing individual cement-lined reservoirs sunken in their courtyards. Two other animators note that the number of spectators rises when the subject presented over the TV is one close to the audience. For example, in a region plagued by the guinea worm disease the program on guinea worm produced record attendance.

III.2.9. Decisions and actions

Written statements concerning decisions made or actions undertaken on the village level in the realm of out-of-school TV education abound in the animators' feedback sheets, in their questionnaire responses and in unsolicited mail. One major opportunity afforded by village visits is a chance to verify such claims.

First, one notices that in every village projects are under way to improve the situation of water supply and water conservation. The projects are of varied nature and are at various stages in their road to completion.

Examples of these projects are the following:

--dues collected for well construction

--cement-lined well construction

--construction of cement-lined sunken reservoirs in individual courtyards

--small dam construction

--creation of a "hygiene committee"

--construction of latrines.

It must be added that most of these cited projects were completed or underway before the TV series on water.

Second, although it is difficult to affirm that such and such an action was carried out as a result of the out-of-school TV campaigns, we did observe a number of concrete actions which took place during the water series. School principals, animators and observors claimed the following recent actions during village visits and our research team verified them as much as possible.

--one adult villager opened an account in the Agricultural Development Bank (BNDA), with the help of his animator

--forty-seven water filters were purchased in four villages

--in three villages a well drilling service did some prospective digging and/or repaired a well

--four villages completed the "dues" collection of 150,000 francs ($600) necessary for village participation in a subsidized well digging contract with the government. (In none of these villages had well digging begun, and villagers were suspicious of what had happened to their money. In one village a receipt for the 150,000 franc sum handed over to the "Sous-Préfet" admitted having neglected to explain to the villagers

that their village was the only one in the area to have collected money for a well and that the well drilling company visited an area only where there were 15 or 20 such villages)

--in two villages the animator constructed a demonstration latrine

--in one village villagers built four latrines (more under construction) for teachers

--in four villages cooperative movements were started.

III.2.10. Obstacles to following advice contained in "TV for Everybody"

The following were noted by animators as obstacles in applying the suggestions offered through "TV for Everybody": lack of interest on the part of local leaders; distant, busy, or impecunious villagers; traditional belief system; problems in communications or in supply.

The influential leaders in a village (canton chief, tribal chief, village chief, land distribution chief, party delegate, PTA president) generally do not attend "TV for Everybody" programs. Without their presence and support villagers do not take the programs seriously and cannot undertake any concrete action on their own initiative. Acquiescence if not direct leadership on the part of village leaders is a necessary pre-condition for the successful impact of the out-of-school program. In one village a leader was criticized for bringing his own water truck with him from the capital for personal use, realizing full well the risky supply from the local infected water hole.

In two villages in the center of the country many villagers spend long weeks during the planting season far from home and are thus prevented from following the TV series at all. In a northern village inhabitants

are so busy with their yam and rice plantations that they say they have no time for "TV for Everybody". Lack of money is another reason cited for the absence of more concrete actions. One village in the south claims that only after the coffee harvest is sold are farmers in a position to make purchases.

Animators cite the obstacle of traditional beliefs, such as that malaria comes from exposure to the sun not from the anophales mosquito, which are so pervasive. Spectators holding such views are capable to understanding program content, perhaps, but refuse to accept it.

One village claims that it is anxious to purchase water filters but that the local chain store (PAC) has never ordered any, despite repeated requests. Another village inquired about the creation of a cooperative but received no response from the Cooperative Development program of the Agriculture Ministry (CENAPEC). And a third village laments poor communications with the local "Sous-Préfecture" or administrative center as an obstacle to achieving certain rural development goals.

III.2.11. Use of written support documents*

Most animators are glad to be able to lean on the written documents

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* The out-of-school program animation unit, seven or eight times a year, sends 1,000 TV animators packets of written materials announcing dates, times, subjects of programs, objectives, summaries, posters, suggestions for animation, and answers to questions.

to help them prepare the discussion period and answer eventual questions. A problem exists in those cases where an animator leaves his school for reassignment. Since the written documents are sent to a person nominatively, in these cases they follow him to his new address where he may or not be an animator. If the materials were sent to "Monsieur l'animateur a school where an audience accustomed to TV animation would not suddenly find itself lacking the support documents. In one village when two animators are active only one receives materials and he apparently refuses to share them with his colleague (the name of the second animator has subsequently been added to the mailing list as a result of our visit).

An unexpected readership was discovered in several "Sous-Préfecture" employees in a northern village. They borrow the documents from animators to help them in their adult correspondence courses.

III.2.12. Personal benefits from "TV for Everybody"

Without exception animators agree they learn important things from the TV programs and written materials supplied by the out-of-school education department. Animators state they learn things they had not been exposed to previously ("We did not study shistosomiasis in 10th grade"). They can use their newly gained knowledge for correspondence courses and eventual upgrading. And finally the advice on health and hygiene is directly useful to three audiences: the animator's parents in their village; his children around him; and his cook.

III.3. Conclusions

III.3.1. Methodological Considerations

III.3.1.1. Notification of animators

Animators were generally found in the villages when the team arrived but usually had not received notification of our coming. Because of this last fact valuable time was lost in organizational tasks such as getting the villagers together (if indeed they had not gone to the fields to work The chances of warning animators in advance of a team's arrival could be enhanced one, by mailing the notification earlier and two, by announcing the visit over the TV or radio. The latter method is often used effectively for such purposes. The danger, however, in setting up a definite time is not being able to respect it because of unforeseeable mechanical difficulties with the project vehicle, unpracticable roads, or detainments in the previous village visit. It has been made clear to us that a group of villagers retained from going to their fields in order to answer some questions from an Abidjan research team becomes understandably vexed when said team does not show up as expected.

III.3.1.2. Visits to village leaders

A courtesy visit to one village leader, generally the village chief, was paid in almost all cases. It is recommended that in the future visits with other leaders as well, such as the party delegate and the PTA president, be added and that they be on a substantive rather than merely a courtesy level. Such contacts could help to remedy the situation observed that most local leaders do not manifest an interest in the out-of-school education program. We feel an effort to help them to understand and

support the movement is essential, and especially personal contact during a village visit could be instrumental in achieving such a goal.

III.3.1.3. Visits to administrative leaders

In several cases courtesy calls were made on Primary School Inspectors and on a few occasions on the "Sous-Préfet" in the localities visited. The team feels these visits should be made mandatory, and also be transformed into substantive discussions on the promise and problems of rural development in general, and on the task of out-of-school TV in particular, in the given region. Especially in view of the poor communication which is said to exist sometimes between administrative and village leaders, a personal visit underlining the deep concern of the out-of-school program in the betterment of conditions in the villages should be helpful.

III.3.1.4. Involving other development agencies or services

It makes eminent sense that once one decides to mobilize forces to travel into the interior one should take full advantage of that expense of resources. In addition to animators, other teachers, village leaders and ordinary villagers, administrative leaders such as the "Sous-Préfet" and the Primary School Inspector, the research teams should in the future contact field representatives of development agencies or services in non-education areas such as health, agriculture, and planning. In Ivory Coast as elsewhere ministries and programs are guilty of pursuing their own endeavors with a notable lack of consultation and collaboration with other efforts in the same direction of rural development. Contacts should be made with the representatives of the major development bureaus, such as

coffee and cocoa, cotton, rice, and modern agriculture. Discussions of common problems and areas of mutual assistance should be the aim of the contacts. Dispensaries, cooperatives, chain stores also should be visited with the additional purpose of assessing villager interest, membership, attendance, water filters purchased, etc.

Another suggestion has been made which is reasonable and which consists of having a service agent, such as a nurse, accompany the evaluation team on up-country surveys in order to personally demonstrate some of the hygienic principles which are covered by the TV programs. For instance the popular program "Dangerous water" contains a sequence on the magnifying glass and on the microscope to show parasites one can find in unclean water. Seeing the microscope on the TV is one thing, and looking through one oneself is another. Where the "seeing is believing" mentality is strong, it would be useful to be able to replicate in several villages such experiments as these which now are made uniquely for the TV screen.

III.3.1.5. Confidence in the data source

The animators knew that their two interviewers worked for the ETV project and consequently were not wholly impartial observers or data collectors. It is a natural reaction for animators to consider an official visit from central project staff as an "inspection" and to portray themselves as model animators or attribute ill-will toward the rural listeners as a way of accounting for lack of program success.

In the interpretation of the information the team gathered from the animators, however, we are less interested in the absolute honesty of individual claims or statements than in the general tone and range of

declarations. For instance, in the first section on notification of villagers (III.2.1.) we doubt that on a regular basis all the professed means of notification are faithfully adhered to. This doubt is based on long familiarity with teacher behavior and the natural reaction mentioned above of wanting to "look good" during an interview. What we can more accurately detect from such interviews is the theoretical or potential range of means of notification, all of which we can believe have been tried at some time.

When questioned about contact between themselves and villagers, animators are much more likely to respond to the effect: "they do not come to us" rather than "we do not go to them." Consequently their statements must be put into perspective, and any interpretations tempered. A perspective can be partially achieved by comparing the animators' statements to the villagers' "side" of the story, but as section II.2.9. points out, villagers' statements also must be interpreted with caution. At any rate, we tried to show ourselves uncritical and understanding of the animator's position in the village, to encourage an animator to speak out.

III.3.2. Conclusions, problems, and suggestion solutions relating to "TV for Everybody"

III.3.2.1. Notification of villagers

The animators notify villagers of impending "TV for Everybody" programs through several means: oral and written notices to teachers and pupils; contact with local village leaders and ordinary villagers.

III.3.2.2. Before, during, and after "TV for Everybody"

Animators come to the school before the broadcast to turn on the receiver and wait for the villagers to seat themselves. The school gong is sounded and after a few words of introduction the out-of-school education film is viewed. Most animators translate key ideas presented in the film or give short explanations during the broadcast.

After the broadcast in villages where there is no electricity and where no one has lent a kerosene lantern the receiver is kept on (sound off) to light the room; this unfortunate situation causes distraction on the part of the audience and frustration on the part of the animator. Animators use the discussion period to question, comment, explain; in brief animate the listening group with the object of coming to some collective decision or (better) leading to some action in the sense of the TV message. Animation comes easy to neither teacher nor spectators; teachers must necessarily be patient and persevering in their attempt to encourage villagers to participate.

III.3.2.3. Animator substitutes

For the few times when animators have been absent from the evening broadcasts, other teachers have usually replaced them. Opinions are divided among animators whether a villager could viably replace them. A few individuals have been suggested, such as a PTA president, an interpreter, a merchant, an agriculture agent. The research team believes that alternatives to the teachers as animator, especially when the situation spontaneously occurs, should be strongly encouraged.

III.3.2.4. Animator/villager relations

The teacher is particularly poorly suited to be a rural change agent. His relations with the population are sparse and strained, being comfortable only within the traditional area of school teaching for the young. Among the reasons for the teachers' lack of success in approaching villagers are the following: the traditional physical and intellectual separation between teachers assigned to a village and villagers; hesitation in becoming involved in local political issues; lack of effort in contacting villagers to follow up out-of-school development messages (after the TV program and discussion his job is considered over); in turn, villagers consider teachers outsiders, usually not speaking their language and not sharing their customs.

In the rare cases where there appears to be a close rapport between animator and villagers the animator speaks the local language and has been in the village for a number of years. "TV for Everybody" offers an opportunity for the teacher to become involved in rural development if he is disposed to seeking a role outside his conventional classroom duties; however, he is young, unexperienced, and not the natural type to be listened to by adult peasants.

III.3.2.5. Interest in TV program subjects

Some animators believe the water series produced by the out-of-school TV department interested all spectators. Others say it was followed more intently by teachers and young spectators than by adult villagers. Still others admit the series relevance to rural problems but don't think the programs "did much" for the peasants. Several animators submitted a dozen additional subjects their listening centers would like to see treated by

the out-of-school education department.

III.3.2.6. Actions to improve the water situation

The out-of-school education campaign on water supply and water hygiene was not the first nationwide attempt to improve the water situation in rural areas nor was it the only effort in that domain underway during 1975. Many concrete examples of action taken for water improvement were visible in the 23 villages visited. Many of these had taken place before 1975, and others could not directly be attributed to the out-of-school campaign. The actions were such as the following: latrine, well, reservoir, and dam construction; dues collection among villagers for well drilling; water filter purchase. The water filters were bought by villagers during a special "reduced price" offer by chain stores during the out-of-school program water campaign: this item can indeed be attributed to "TV for Everybody".

III.3.2.7. Obstacles to success of "TV for Everybody"

The major obstacles to applying advice offered over "TV for Everybody" are the following: lack of interest on the part of village leaders; faraway, busy, or penniless villagers; traditional beliefs which do not permit acceptance of "scientific" knowledge; poor communication with central administration; lack of supply of requested material, in this case water filters.

III.3.2.8. Benefits to the animator from out-of-school TV and usefulness of written documents

Every animator recognizes the fact that "TV for Everybody" teaches

him new and useful things. The new knowledge can be used for future degree work or inspections, and applied by the animator and his family. The written documents produced and distributed periodically by the out-of-school education department are greatly appreciated by animators because they are useful in mastering the essential ideas to be put across, in preparing discussion periods, and in answering eventual questions from the audience.

IV. THE RESULTS OF THE STUDY AND WHAT TO DO WITH THEM

IV.1. The Objectives

All of the six objectives stated in section I.2. were attained. Only through personal visits was it possible to verify certain actions which had taken place in the village regarding the water situation. Whereas the animator might comply to a request to send a written statement on how he animates, notifies villagers, uses written documents, etc., when a researcher is in the field the answers he receives are more complete, they come from every village visited rather than the percentage one is lucky enough to have returns from, and because of the tone and the directness the answers generally provide more information on impact, problems, successes than do cursory written statements sent to an impersonal central office. It would have been nearly hopeless to rely on a third party to obtain the responses (feelings, experiences, opinions) of quasi-illiterate adult spectators. Our own staff first by reaching this audience through their own medium - an oral group discussion in local dialect - and second by taping the conversation could obtain, for the first time, first-hand data from representatives of the principal target audience of the out-of-school program. The taping and transcription of these village discussions were performed by the three Ivorian graduate students presently enrolled in a Masters Degree Program at Stanford University, as USAID participant trainees.

IV.2. Congruity of results fielded by the two teams

The sections on the results obtained by the study are II.3. and III.3., which are based on the more complete sections of findings II.2. and III.2. Many of the questions asked of the animators were not asked of villagers and vice-versa. Examples of these are the first questions, "Is TV just like the movies?" which was asked only of villagers and "What do you do to invite the televiewers to a 'TV for Everybody' program?" which was put only to the animators. A few of the questions did cover common ground and it is to these that we turn our attention in order to assess the congruity or disparity in regards to the animators' perceptions and those of a group of villagers. The common areas are the following: relations between animators and villagers; topics the respondents wish to be covered on "TV for Everybody"; certain actions; and certain obstacles.

IV.2.1. Relations between animators and villagers

Both animators and villagers point out the many historical and contextual reasons why there is a wide gap between the two groups (sections II.2.9. and II.2.6.): physical, intellectual, ethnic and linguistic separation; short teaching assignments to any one village. While on the one hand villagers do not generally look toward schoolteachers for advice in development affairs (they are considered village decisions), the animator is also often reticent about becoming involved in village politics. Although the Education Ministry is pressing him to act as village change agent outside of his classroom duties, the animator neither by historical precedent, professional training, personal inclination, or villager encouragement is attracted to that role. Herein lies the basic difficulty, recognized and pointed out to the out-of-school authorities back in 1973

by such a group as the Bouaké-based federation of village assemblies (fédération des groupements villageois), of counting on the teacher to stimulate and activate rural development. In 1976 there does not seem to be any significant change in this situation.

Both animators and villagers give partial hope and qualified aspiration for animation to be carried out by villagers, "native sons", rather than by a teacher. Although there is not much experience of this happening,* on one side some animators acquiescingly recognize that some villagers could become animators and on the other some villagers politely thank the teachers for their job but wish to be trained to take over the operation.

IV.2.2. Requested topics for "TV for Everybody"

Topics which villagers say they would like covered by the out-of-school department and topics which animators state villagers would like covered can be found in sections II.2.4. and III.2.8. Unfortunately the data collectors did not quantify the number of times such and such a topic was suggested. Accordingly since a topic might have been submitted only once, not a great deal of importance can be accorded to the following lists, nor to their interpretation.

Looking at the above-mentioned sections, one first recognizes a common body of six subjects, brought up by each group:

1. Modernization of agriculture
2. Animal husbandry

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* See Steve Grant, "Out-of-school TV in 4 villages", 1974, pp. 25-27 for a case study of how a villager spontaneously assumed the role of animator.

3. Literacy
4. Motherhood and child raising
5. Banking and savings
6. Ceremonies and celebrations.

Then one sees two areas where animators ask for programs:

7. Official documents (birth certificate, identity cards, etc.)
8. Present-day accomplishments in Ivory Coast.

In addition villagers request a larger number of programs:

9. Food
10. Health and Hygiene
11. Village cohesion and solidarity
12. Women's rights
13. Becoming a merchant
14. Rural exodus and the unemployed
15. Housekeeping
16. Housing

While one can accept these lists as representing topics which are ever popular, to a lesser or greater extent, it is useful to compare the demands with what up to now has constituted the "supply", that is the program areas which have been treated to date. In the following table the number in parentheses to the right indicates the number of adult TV programs which have been broadcast since the beginning of the out-of-school project (from 1973 to the fall of 1976) in the particular area.

Housing	(9)
Agriculture	(8)
Banking	(6)
Health	(5)
Child raising	(4)
Celebrations	(3)
Rural exodus	(2)
Official documents	(1)

No broadcasts have been made directly on the other topics in the preceding lists. Several broadcasts have been made however on subjects not introduced by either animators or villagers.

It does not appear useful to pursue analysis too far given the unknown weight one can attribute to each request, yet let us consider the attention directed to the topics in the first group, the common requests. Only two of these six topics have not been treated, literacy and animal husbandry. The area of animal husbandry will be treated in a series of eight programs scheduled for early 1977. There are no current plans to attack the huge problem of literacy within the framework of the out-of-school department. This decision however does not mean that literacy is not considered a vital activity for national development in the eyes of the Educational Television Ministry. Indeed, the out-of-school authorities have collaborated with the Ministry of Youth, Mass Education, and Sports which is currently responsible for literacy instruction; more precisely they have trained literacy teachers who double as "TV for Everybody" animators in selected schools, holding literacy classes in the early evening followed by the broadcast and discussion. In terms of the other four areas where programs have been produced, one can conclude that the

programs have probably satisfied the desires of certain spectators and that more programs would also be welcomed.

IV.2.3. Actions

The claimed or visible effects of the water series in the villages visited were listed in sections II.2.10.3. and III.2.9. Unfortunately data collection in this area was not rigorous or exhaustive. First of all, in some villages through rush or oversight little attempt was made to obtain information on concrete actions taken. In other villages some claims were made but visits to each "action site" were not made. (Or, on occasion, visits to villagers having reputedly purchased a water filter were in vain because they had locked their house and gone to the fields for the day.) It is also possible that due to the lack of contact between animator and population certain actions were accomplished without the animator knowing about it. And it is obviously possible to purchase a water filter without actually using it.

By and large, animators and villagers reported the following array of actions, for the twenty-three villages:

1. 47 water filters purchased
2. 6 latrines built (by villagers and/or teachers)
3. In a few (less than five) villages:
   --dues collected for public well construction
   --wells repaired
   --prospective well drilling done
   --a cooperative started
   --a bank account opened.

In some villages both animator and village representatives claimed that nothing had changed, nothing had been accomplished. Such a statement may be true but also may reveal a general attitude of resignation, masking certain changes which seemed unimportant. It is interesting to note that in the area of water filter purchase there appears to be a "threshold" effect. In most villages no filter was purchased. In the few where filters were bought, it was not one or two filters. It was more a dozen or two dozen, where one can imagine a certain imitation or "keeping up with the Joneses" on the part of the villagers once the movement had begun. Examination, then, of the motivation behind the first purchase might provide a key to how other villages could eventually be enticed to following suit.

IV.2.4. Obstacles

The subject of obstacles is paramount. It can be noticed that in the accompanying volume* obstacles are evoked throughout the work; lack of local organization; lack of access to material and organizational resources; lack of cooperation of the administrative authorities; lack of communication support; strength of traditional beliefs and customs. It is suggested that the out-of-school education authorities concentrate on attacking such obstacles in order to increase the chances of program impact.

The current report has included a section on "obstacles to following

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* Frans Lenglet, "The Impact of 25 Television Programs on 'Water' Produced and Broadcast by the Ivorian Out-of-School Education Project".

advice contained in 'TV for Everybody,'" (III.2.10.) and in several other sections, particularly when villagers speak up, obstacles are mentioned, or brought up in the analysis. But obstacles to what? It is more than obstacles to following advice; it also pertains to the pre-conditions or predispositions for behavior change. Every time an interviewer mentioned a fact, a feeling, a belief, a regret, a criticism, a complaint which he-- or we as researchers-- considered a hindrance to the successful carrying out of the out-of-school education program we took careful note. The purpose of such careful attention is not to denigrate the project or to stifle its hopes for success; it is to help identify these areas where the efforts exerted by the out-of-school department can be more justly recompensed by their impact on rural life. One can attempt a categorization of the obstacles by dividing them among factual givens, or a situation more or less inherent to rural peasant living conditions and among those obstacles which pertain more to program organization.

Commonly stated obstacles -- inherent to the rural condition

(Technical development)

1. Absence of electricity to light classrooms during evening discussions.

(Labor-related factors)

2. A tired (come late evening) and seasonally busy listening audience.
3. "TV for Everybody" advice often deemed impractical or technically complex.

(Socio-economic development)

4. Meagre resources to devote to improving living standard.
5. A weak, infrequent teacher/villager contact due to the disparity between their two worlds.
6. A low interest or sense of involvement in "TV for Everybody" by village leaders.

(Cognitive/belief system)

7. Some difficulty understanding program content.
8. A disposition that "TV for Everybody" advice is useful but not indispensable.
9. A traditional belief system which does not accept "scientific" notions.

Commonly stated obstacles -- of an organizational nature

A. Programs produced in French, not local languages
B. Often crowded classrooms
C. Questions (sent to project headquarters from listening centers) which remain unanswered
D. Problems of communication with administrative authorities
E. Absence of remuneration of teacher/animators.

No weighting of the various obstacles is attempted, nor any assignment of priorities as to remedial action. Nevertheless the second list includes elements over which the out-of-school authorities have considerably more power of action and of determining results than in the first list. The line of demarcation between the two categories is not distinct, and they are not all mutually exclusive. For instance, it has been shown that the interest of village leaders in "TV for Everybody" generally is low; yet there is hope that this situation could be changed by mounting concerted efforts to involve village leaders and giving them a sense of participation. Difficulty in understanding program content may be frequent (despite claims that comprehension does not present a problem), yet the objective of simplifying and clarifying program content if pursued by the out-of-school program makers could improve program impact. The confrontation of traditional belief systems and scientific notions may subside with time. Similarly some observed phenomena (from the second list), such as poor communication or distribution systems could be improved, but will always partially exist due to the remoteness of rural areas.

In conclusion to this section on the congruity of results fielded by the two teams one can summarize that many conclusions were unanimous. There were no major areas where animator and villager do not see "eye to eye." The report has ended by a short comparison of the actions accomplished relative to "TV for Everybody". Behind these actions exists hopefully an attitudinal change toward accepting significant measures in the direction of life improvement. Finally, the important subject of obstacles to the proliferation of concrete actions following

"TV for Everybody" advice and to the increased success of the out-of-school movement were presented with an eye towards recognizing "the enemy" and mapping a plan for its demise.

IV.3. Reporting findings and recommendations to the out-of-school department

There would inevitably be a several-month period before any formal report such as the present one could be assembled, printed, and distributed due to numerous factors: secretarial scarcity, time consuming tape transcriptions to perform, interruptions by consultant missions, workshops and further surveys to prepare, etc. It was decided in the meantime, therefore, to make the effort to communicate partial and hasty results, in the fashion of "quick and dirty" research, in order to provide immediate feedback to the out-of-school authorities which could be acted upon rapidly. Accordingly each of the five team members prepared a short (five to ten page) document with his impressions, "critical incidents," and initial conclusions. When this material had been read by the out-of-school department, a meeting was held approximately eight weeks after the village visits had taken place.

The meeting was called to hear the preliminary findings of the evaluation team and to discuss what action could be taken. On eleven points the evaluators recommended action.

1. Inform villagers about the procedure used to contact agencies and offices whose job it is to help in village sanitation and village development projects
2. Perform certain demonstrations in the field (either by animators

or extension agents) such as in the fields of health or agriculture in order to increase chances of adoption of new behavior rather than relying solely on the example given on a TV screen

3. Encourage animators by personal visits to villages where the out-of-school program functions
4. Furnish kerosene lamps to animators in order to solve the problem of insufficient lighting during the discussion period
5. Have a better respect for the pre-announced times and dates of broadcasts
6. Obtain a more equitable distribution regarding the ethnic group and language of the actors portrayed on "TV for Everybody"
7. Attempt to intervene in favor of certain efforts already made by villagers to develop their area, such as dues which have been collected and handed over for well drilling without any further consequences
8. Insist, in communications with animators, on the importance of obtaining the support of local leaders (village chief, party delegate, etc.) for the out-of-school education program
9. Make policy clear to animators concerning attendance at out-of-school evening TV sessions of youths (babies, children, pupils, dropouts) for they often represent a turbulent and distracting element
10. Do everything possible to persuade authorities to give some remuneration to animators for their hours spent with out-of-school program animation
11. Respond more quickly and more satisfactorily to questions asked by spectators and animators.

The 11th point was the first one to be acted upon by the out-of-school

program authorities. Responses to spectators' and animators' written questions had always been consigned to written documents (see section II.3.2.10.) sent every few months to animators and shared (or not shared) with listening audiences, and some answers to unsolicited mail. Upon our recommendation this answering service was expanded: every incoming letter receives an immediate written answer. Moreover, increased efforts were made to reserve a portion of broadcast time on "TV for Everybody" for answers to questions from villages, where credit was given over the air to the villages by mentioning their names. This practice was to be repeated every time possible, that is, when the prepared film did not use up entire air time.

Points 4 and 10 involve minor and major (respectively) budget increases which, after constant requests and justificatory arguments had been submitted, were finally disapproved by the Educational Television Minister at the end of the 1975-1976 school year. Concerning payment of animators, the Minister decided that animation duties should henceforth be considered an integral part of every teacher's work load.

Points 2 and 3 involve personal visits to villages and constitute a new and important element which the out-of-school program has requested for 1976-1977. Currently its shortage of vehicles presents it from visiting the interior.

Points 5 and 6 were admitedly defects in earlier broadcast history, but have lately improved and hopefully reached acceptable levels of tolerance.

Points 1, 8, and 9 were judged important and would be brought up again in future notes of advice distributed to the animator network by

the animation unit of the out-of-school program.

Finally, point 7 was deemed delicate because of the nature of the subject, but propositions would be made to the authorities.

Future meetings between the Evaluation Service and the out-of-school unit and future visits to the interior by the two groups would return to these eleven points to trace the evolution of any improvement.

Appendix A presents the questionnaire guides utilized in the villager and animator interviews. Appendix B, by organizing typical or striking villager quotations according to the questions in Appendix A, provides a more concrete backdrop for section II., or the attitudes of villagers toward "TV for Everybody".

APPENDIX A

A.1. Questionnaire guide for villagers

(Opinions on "TV for Everybody")

A.1.1. Is TV just like the movies?

A.1.2. What is "TV for Everybody"? Is it for white people or for Africans?

A.1.3. What you see in "TV for Everybody", in what country does it take place?

A.1.4. What you see in "TV for Everybody", is it real or unreal (give examples)?

A.1.5. When you look at "TV for Everybody", do you learn new things (what?)?

A.1.6. Do some of the things you see on "TV for Everybody" exist in your village (give examples)?

A.1.7. Do you understand what you are told on "TV for Everybody"?

A.1.8. Have you had enough of the water series (in "TV for Everybody") or do you want more programs on it?

A.1.9. If Mr. X (animator's name) was not here, could you understand "TV for Everybody" all alone?

A.1.10. The day Mr. X (animator's name) is not there to animate the discussion period, could a villager among you do it?

A.1.11. Even if Mr. X (animator's name) is there, do you want a villager to animate the discussion period?

A.1.12. Are you satisfied with the answers of Mr. X (animator's name)?

A.1.13. Are there development agents (from, say the Technical Assistance Bureau for Modern Agriculture) who come to give you advice from time to time?

A.1.14. Is the advice you hear on "TV for Everybody" easy or difficult to follow?

A.1.15. Why do you follow the advice you receive on "TV for Everybody"? Because you are told to or because you want to?

A.1.16. How do you usually fight the water problems you are faced with (give examples)?

(Animator-villager relations)

A.1.17. Besides the "TV for Everybody" evenings, do you have close contact with Mr. X (animator's name)?

A.1.18. Does Mr. X (animator's name) participate in village events (funerals, weddings, feasts, etc.)?

A.1.19. Does Mr. X (animator's name) come to see you at home from time to time? If so, do you discuss problems raised in "TV for Everybody"?

A.1.20. Do you go to visit Mr. X (animator's name)?

A.1.21. Since the arrival in the village of Mr. X (animator's name), has he helped you do anything in the village? Do what? What help has he been?

A.1.22. How does Mr. X (animator's name) notify you about the "TV for Everybody" broadcasts?

A.2. Questions for village non-spectators

A.2.1. Is TV just like the movies?

A.2.2. Why don't you attend "TV for Everybody" programs?

A.3. Questionnaire guide for animators

A.3.1. A section of questions on the three questionnaires sent by the Evaluation Service* elicited answers which have been considered in the report mentioned in the footnote rather than in the present report.

A.3.2. Animation

A.3.2.1. What do you do to invite the televiewers to a "TV for Everybody" program? Do you contact pupils? Elders?

--several days before

--the very day

--just before the broadcast

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* See Frans Lenglet, "The Impact of 25 Television Programs on 'Water' Produced and Broadcast by the Ivorian Out-of-School Education Project", Evaluation Service, Abidjan, 1976.

A.3.2.2. What do you do just before, during, and after the broadcast?

A.3.2.3. How do you lead the discussion following the broadcast?

A.3.2.4. In case you are absent is there a villager who could be a viable substitute for you as animator?

A.3.2.5. Besides the "TV for Everybody" broadcast, what do you do so that the villagers will understand the program more fully or better apply its suggestions?

A.3.3. Integration and contacts

A.3.3.1. (Note the physical position of the teachers' houses and the school compared to the village)

A.3.3.2. Do you have many contacts with villagers? On what subjects?

A.3.3.3. Do villagers invite you to their general meetings or just to meetings about school affairs?

A.3.3.4. Do villagers ask you for advice? On what subjects? Often?

A.3.4. Achievements

A.3.4.1. Do you believe that villagers enjoy the programs "TV for Everybody"? Do they like the programs on water?

A.3.4.2. Do they understand the programs? Can they understand without animation?

A.3.4.3. Has your listening group taken any decisions after a "TV for Everybody" program which have resulted in a concrete action? If so, which action? Can you show us the result?

A.3.4.4. Are there obstacles or difficulties which have prevented following "TV for Everybody" advice or achieving some concrete results?

A.3.4.5. How has the water situation changed since early 1975 (results covered in the Lenglet report previously cited, not in the present report)

A.3.5. Opinions

A.3.5.1. Do you think that the programs on water "did something" for the peasants? What?

A.3.5.2. Are the water programs and "TV for Everybody" broadcasts in general adapted to the needs and the interests of the population? In what respect?

A.3.5.3. Do you find the "TV for Everybody" programs useful for yourself? How so?

A.3.5.4. Do you use intensely the written documents accompanying the broadcasts? Do they help you to answer villagers' questions?

APPENDIX B

Sample of answers from different villages to questions in Appendix A

A.1.1. Is TV just like the movies?

--TV is better than the movies. It is free, handy, shows things from our own country and from elsewhere, gives us advice on health and agriculture.

--TV is free while you have to pay to go to the movies.

--Movies represent the past but TV shows what is happening today.

A.1.2. What is "TV for Everybody"? Is it for white people or for Africans?

--It's not only for whites because we see things from our own country. We hear African dialects. We learn about development. People come from Abidjan to tell us what to do: so, it's for Africans.

--It's for whites but also for blacks.

--It's not for whites; it interests us.

A.1.3. What you see in "TV for Everybody", in what country does it take place?

--"TV for Everybody" shows us real things about our villages.

--We see things from our daily life: disease like Guinea Worm, stomach ache, or problems in crop production. Those are our problems.

A.1.4. What you see in "TV for Everybody", is it real or unreal?

--Real, because we find the same things in our village that we see on "TV for Everybody".

--It's not right. They say a mosquito gives malaria, but I don't think so. It is one of "our own" diseases. You get it when you stay out in the sun too long. People stricken with malaria are never cured in a hospital; but we have our own way of curing them by village medicine.

--I think it's real. In one village a child falls ill. They take him to the hospital where the doctor says the water he drank made him ill. The villagers don't believe it; they sacrifice chickens to the water but the child remains ill. Then a doctor examines the water. He finds microbes in it and shows them to the chief and his elders. After this demonstration the child is cured and the villagers won't get the disease any longer. So I think the "TV for Everybody" program the white people made is right.

A.1.5. <u>When you look at "TV for Everybody", do you learn new things?</u>

--Yes. We learn that if you have guinea worm you have drunk unclean water.

--Yes, to cover dishes. Before our wives left dishes without any cover. Flies landed on the food. Now they cover everything. And we learned about filtering water and sleeping under mosquito netting.

A.1.6. <u>Do some of the things you see on "TV for Everybody" exist in your village?</u>

--No, we don't have any disease here which comes from the water.

--Of course they do. For instance, once we saw people with river blindness on TV and we have that here.

A.1.7. Do you understand what you are told on "TV for Everybody"?

--Since we don't understand French, how can we understand the programs?

--Not too much difficulty for those who understand French. For the others they can understand with a translation.

--We understand what is on "TV for Everybody" because we watch the pictures. We can understand even without the sound.

A.1.8. Have you had enough of the water series or do you want more programs on it?

--I'd like to have them shown again for those of us who were absent.

--The water problem is very interesting, We would also like to know what precautions we should take to avoid other diseases.

--We have understood how we contract certain diseases but if they think there are other things that would interest us they should show them to us.

A.1.9. If the animator was not there, could you understand "TV for Everybody" all alone?

--If the teacher was not there we could understand anyway. The pictures are expressive, and can be understood without a commentary.

--If the programs are in French those who don't understand French cannot follow. If they are in Baoulé or any other language we understand we can follow. If we recognize things on the screen that we know then we can also understand.

A.1.10. The day the animator is not there to animate the discussion period, could a villager among you do it?

--Yes, François, a villager, could do it in the absence of the animator.

--No one here could explain the program if the animator is not there. We are all the same; we don't know anything.

A.1.11. Even if the animator is there, do you want a villager to animate the discussion period?

--If there is someone from the village who is literate like the animator, that would be okay.

--Our animator does not come from our village and does not speak our language. Therefore it is difficult for him to translate everything. A local youngster has to help him.

--If we had to choose an animator, we would take André, a villager.

A.1.12. Are you satisfied with the animator's answers?

--Yes, we are always satisfied.

--Yes, we are.

A.1.13. Are there development agents who come to give you advice from time to time?

--Yes, AVB and SATMACI agents come to give us advice but we would much rather have some extension workers permanently here to work with us.

--Public Health officials come from time to time. They tell us not to throw our garbage and dirty water all over the place.

A.1.14. Is the advice you hear on "TV for Everybody" easy or difficult to follow?

--Difficult, because we have no money to buy water filters with.

--If you live in a big town you can follow the advice on "TV for Everybody". But if you are in the bush, you can find no filtered water in your fields; you take the water that is there. If you have just one or two children then you can filter the water, but with our large families how can you?

--The advice we hear about is not hard to apply. Those who can do apply it. For instance, if you can't buy a water filter you can filter your water by using a cloth. Or you can boil your water.

A.1.15. Why do you follow the advice you receive on "TV for Everybody"? Because you are told to or because you want to?

--We recognize that "TV for Everybody" tells us the truth. That's why we follow it, not because the teachers force us to.

--We follow "TV for Everybody" because it shows us what to do, and we are convinced it is right.

A.1.16. How do you usually fight the water problems you are faced with?

--We did not fight them because we did not understand the cause of the diseases.

--Before "TV for Everybody" programs I would drink any kind of water. Now I take my precautions.

--We didn't take any precautions because we didn't know there were microbes in the water.

A.1.17. Besides the "TV for Everybody" evenings, do you have close contact with the animator?

--It depends on the circumstances. At any rate they are not regular.

--No contact.

--No contact in particular.

A.1.18. Does the animator participate in village events?

--He hasn't been here long.

--Like all the other teachers, he participates in village events.

--He helps us organize soccer games and dances.

A.1.19. Does the animator come to see you at home from time to time? If so, do you discuss problems raised in "TV for Everybody"?

--Yes, he came to see me and told me what I was doing wrong compared to what I should be doing as shown on "TV for Everybody".

--He never came to my place. He visits parents when their children are having difficulties in school.

--They are the ones who should say, "tomorrow I will visit you." But they don't. And we can't invite them; if we did they wouldn't come.

A.1.20. Do you go to visit the animator?

--Yes, I have once.

--Yes, some people do.

--No one has yet.

--No, we don't do that.

A.1.21. Since the animator's arrival in the village, has he helped you do anything in the village? Do what? What help has he been?

--He hasn't been here long.

--He participates in village events.

--Like the others he participates in village events.

A.1.22. How does the animator notify you about the "TV for Everybody" broadcasts?

--The viewers are notified either by the pupils or by the school gong. It also happens to be the weekly market day so it is easy to remember.

--The villagers know by force of habit that it is Wednesday and Friday.

--After each program, the animator tells us the next day we should show up.

A.2.2. Why don't you attend "TV for Everybody" programs?

--When we return from the fields we are tired and we want to sleep.

--We are old folks. We have seen a lot of things. TV is not part of our epoch; we'll leave it for the young.